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12,000,000 TONS OF TNT

The H-Bomb and all of us

By Dr. Philip Morrison
Nuclear physicist, Ithaca, N. Y.

No official information on the hydrogen bomb and its effects has yet been released. All Atomic Energy Commission personnel are explicitly instructed not to discuss even those aspects which are generally known to science. But an excellent first estimate of what it means may be obtained from the official and authoritative semi-technical Los Alamos publication, The Effects of Atomic Weapons, *issued in 1950. This work details the effects of such weapons; and while all its conclusions are based on the so-called nominal atomic bomb, like that of Nagasaki, with an energy release equal to the explosion of 20,000 tons of TNT, the book contains careful accounts of how to compute the figures for bombs of any strength. All that is to follow is based on application of the official public methods of calculation to the unofficial, widely-quoted and plausible statement that the Bikini test explosion of March 1 released energy equal to the detonation of 12,000,000 tons of TNT, or 600 times the energy of the "nominal" bomb.*

MY STUDY WINDOWS look out on a wide view. On a clear day you can see the barns and the houses, the storage tanks and the factory windows of our little city. The lake lies far below, and the town clings close to the lakeshore in the valley. We can see field and wood, stream and road, spreading out of the horizon 15 miles away on the tree-covered slopes of the Van Etten hills.

One thermonuclear bomb, exploding two or three miles high in the center of our landscape, would turn all we see into black char in a few seconds. Literally, all we can see—field and farm, town and countryside. And what we cannot see, beneath the rooftops and in the bottoms of the valleys cutting through the land, would feel in a minute the strong blast wave, and in the hours thereafter know the invisible searing rays of the radioactive dust.

Adjectives are not needed to give an account of such an event. It is for the reader to assume the task of turning the list of commonplaces which follows into language of human agony, and the greater task of resolving that that agony shall never come to any of the cities of man.

BLACK CHAR: Two and a half miles in the air of any city, on a clear sunny day, or a starry night, imagine that there bursts the man-made sun of Bikini. In a few seconds its heat would grow and dwindle again. Everyone on whom that great light shone, for a distance of about five miles from the point of aim, would find the clothing on his body burst into lively flame, and his unclothed skin char black. Up to six miles away the unprotected skin would suffer severe burn wherever that light shone directly upon it.

There is no noise yet. That now comes, above the screams, the concussion of the shock wave, and the irresistible blast wind after it. For two and a half miles from the point below the bomb, there would now come nearly total destruction. Even skyscrapers would experience massive destruction. The wrenched steel frames would shed their walls and floors. In 10 or 15 seconds the wave of havoc would have run out still further, and up to four miles away nothing could escape collapse and ruin. Autos would be smashed and tossed aside everywhere out to about four miles' distance.

THEN THE SOUND: As far away as eight miles, some 100 city blocks, ordinary houses would suffer ruin, caving in on their inhabitants, or stand with ruined walls ready to fall. A foot-thick brick wall will stand at this distance, but will crack severely. No common house out to a distance of 12 miles could be counted habitable without extensive shoring and repair. And only after the blast had rolled over the homes and the shops of the people for 20 miles would it have spent its energy so far that it could no longer smash every glass pane into flying splinters. It becomes only then a sound—a sound to wrench the heart.

In the high air, the terrible mushroom would grow. And while the wrecked city burned beneath, the winds aloft would start to spread the radioactive debris of the bomb. From that

(Continued on Page 8)

GOOD NEWS!
WELLS
He won't die *Page 5*
KWAKS
They get stay *Page 8*

He put in his thumb, pulled out a bomb . . .

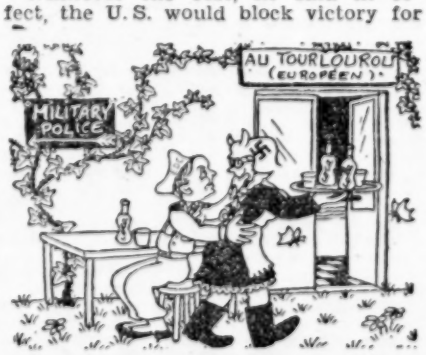
Secy. of State Dulles believes in "letting Asians fight Asians"—if you can get them to do it. The problem, in Indo-China: 98% of the Asians who live there are on one side (the Viet Minh), only 2% on the other (Dulles' side). Although the second "big bang" in the current Pacific series was announced two hours before Dulles went on the air, the Indo-Chinese status remained quo. Does the sending of American boys to "save Indo-China" come next on the program? It's up to you.

WAR & PEACE

The Dulles speech: Washington prepa es nation for full-scale intervention in Indo-China

IN a speech March 29, broadcast as widely to the world as the President's Dec. 3 address to UN, Secy. Dulles served notice that the Administration is preparing the American people for direct, ful-scale U.S. intervention in the Indo-China war.

Whatever the cost, he said in effect, the U.S. would block victory for the popular government of the Viet Nam Republic under President Ho Chi Minh—the government France recognized within the French Union until France launched the war seven years ago. (Ho's government would get 98% of the vote in free Indo-China elections today, according to "an authoritative on-the-spot estimate" quoted in **Newsweek**, 3/22.)



Effel in Humanite, Paris

"Fraulein from Armentieres, parley-voo?"

For the impact of the Dulles speech and U.S. policy on the Geneva conference, see Tabitha Petran, p. 3.

Noting how far Dulles went beyond past Administration statements of U.S. intentions in Indo-China, the N.Y. **Times'** James Reston wrote (3/30):

> "Always in the past he had talked about what the U.S. would do if Red China sent its army into the Indo-China war. Tonight he made it clear that the U.S. would not tolerate Communist conquest of the area 'by whatever means.'"

LET THERE BE TIN: Dulles threatened "united action" to hold Indo-China's "tin, rubber, oil, iron ore . . . [its] great strategic value . . . astride the most direct and best developed sea and air routes between the Pacific and South Asia . . . [its] major naval and air bases" for Washington's "free world." But, said Reston, he "purposely did not define what he meant by taking 'united action.'"

The **Wall St. Journal's** Ray Cromley provided the definition (3/30):

> 1) The U.S. "will throw in whatever planes and supplies are deemed necessary to win [the Dien Bien Phu] battle"; 2) "No concessions shall be made to the Reds at Geneva"; 3) "Recruit the aid of UN—or part of UN—to bolster units now fighting in Indo China"; 4) "an appeal to UN for quick indirect action like a naval blockade of Red China. This might be tried, if the Reds are recalcitrant at Geneva, even if the French are still fighting in Indo-China."
>
> [If this does not work,] "the U.S. is prepared under its current philos-

(Continued on Page 7)

WHAT'S BEHIND THE COFFEE GOUGE? THE INSIDE STORY . . . See Page 6

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Vol. 6, No. 24 — 178 — APRIL 5, 1954

THE MAIL BAG

Joe Must Go!

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

The movement for the recall of Sen. McCarthy is assuming sweep proportions in Wisconsin. Although it was recently started, apparently by LeRoy Gore, editor of the Sauk Prairie Star, a weekly paper in Sauk City, Wis., a Republican and a former friend of McCarthy, thousands of people of all political views are volunteering to help in this campaign. The effort needs organization; but the spontaneity, enthusiasm and breadth are there.

The statutes in this state provide for the recall of any office holder. There are some spheres, not necessarily McCarthyite, which are trying to magnify the obstacles involved and to minimize the efficacy of such an effort.

A little over 40,000 signatures are necessary in this state to secure a vote on McCarthy's recall. Milwaukee County alone may be able, by organized and concerted effort, to supply half of the required number of signatures. The job can be done even with a minimum of organization, and in view, particularly, of the tremendous and widespread enthusiasm for such recall movement.

M. Michael Essin, Chairman, Progressive Party of Wisconsin

Joe's Babble Ballad

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Oh, I'm the defendant
And my witness too
As well as my prosecutor
I'm my defense attorney
The Judge and Jury
And the Law's High Executioner

Lawrence Gellert

Adams vs. Cohn

NEW YORK, N.Y.

While I learned a number of salient points from, and am in general agreement with Tabitha Petran's "The Real Forces Behind McCarthyism," I must protest the coupling of John G. Adams' ethics with Cohn's. The canard attributing to Adams the motivation of a high-fee'd partnership had no basis, I believe, other than in Cohn's floundering countercharges. Let us give no credit to this McCarthy-type smear.

My impression is that had it not been for Adams the Army would not have maintained its resistance to the Senate Committee's demands, and our best hope for a showdown lies in Adams pushing the Army offensive. He never paid the usual deferential patter to the Senator or his major premise, and his awareness of the issues and concern for the record are evident in the Army's Report to the Subcommittee. If McCarthy takes the stand, as he avers he will, vociferating that no honest man would fear cross-examination, he will lay himself open to cross-examination and his credibility open to attack. Mr. Adams has shown signs of being a battling lawyer who will avail himself of the Senator's choice of weapons and make the Senator, now inflated to the bursting point, eat those words. Marcella M. Bostwick

How crazy can you get dept.

We need legislation making it possible for the Atty. Gen. to authorize wire tapping and make evidence thus obtained p missible in court. Only in this way will we protect our citizens' right of privacy.

—Blake Clark in Readers Digest, April, 1954.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Walter Gerstel, Berkeley, Calif

Links-eye view

GRANVILLE, OHIO

After all, maybe we shouldn't blame Ike too much for golfing while the American economy burns. He's not an economist himself, and in the general fog surrounding Washington, his advisers have been telling him that that rosy glow in the sky is merely the reflection of the fires of industry.

J. Niblick

4c first class mail

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

The Post Office Committee in Congress already has approved the new act raising cost of first class domestic postage to 4 cents per letter, retaining 3 cents, I am told, within city limits only. This bill will pass without difficulty and become a law in our land of free thought and free expression. It of course opposes free interchange of thought between the poorer citizens, or half our population, and so opposes spread of information and progress.

Ask readers to address letters to Congress asking for fairness to the poor public. Paul Rogers

No. 1: the tax fight

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

C. B. Baldwin is to be commended on his encouraging "Report From Washington" (GUARDIAN, 3/8). He not only conveys a lesson but a mandate to voters.

We have an opportunity in the current tax fight. If we workers want the equivalent of a wage raise through lower taxes, if we resent the tax favors being showered on the rich, the corporations and the coupon-clippers, then write your support for Sen. George's Bill SB 2983 to raise personal income tax exemption from the miserly $600 to at least $800. This can boost the take-home pay of the 62,000,000 workers.

Write to your own Congressmen and Senators on this and other questions that affect your welfare, the more so now when depression is creeping over us. Don't abdicate the field to the billionaires, the war planners and the union busters who are astride the Capitol.

Jeff Patrick

Interlandi, L.A. Daily News

"No, no, Eve, think of what you're doing . . . disease, war, A-bombs, H-bombs, taxes, television, Arthur Godfrey . . ."

That good feeling

SHRUB OAK, N.Y.

Congratulations on the newer, bigger GUARDIAN. That our paper is growing in size, as well as circulation, in these trying times, is a very heartening sign. It makes me feel better about everything.

Congratulations pay no salaries, so I am also enclosing a check for $5, $3 to renew my subscription and $2 I should like to be added to funds for the defense of Mr. Belfrage. We need him, and many others like him. Mary Mobile

Social Security Act

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y.

How many of us, young or old, at any time since the enactment of the Social Security Act in 1935 have even taken time out to review this law? In the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., thousands of copies are available at a small cost.

Henry Ummelman

His favorite heretic

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Preacher Claude Williams [now appealing against his unfrocking by the Detroit Presbytery for "heresy"] is my favorite heretic. He is heretical against unreason. I used to belong to the same well-to-do church that is now trying to give him the dogmatic thumbscrew treatment; I stopped paying dues to this outfit years ago when I began to feel I was not getting good value for my money — value in truth and applied religion. I can almost wish that I had kept up my payments through the years for the sheer pleasure of resigning now in protest against the childish proceedings against the Preacher.

Preacher honestly believes that the whole church is going to swing around to his way of thinking about religious matters such as unemployment and peace and civil rights and the kingdom of God on earth. He may be right. I have never seen it happen yet and can't say. If this happy condition ever arrives, after all Claude's labors, the Presbyters will probably claim all the credit. But it is a good thing they are so busy laying up treasures on earth; pickings on the other side are going to be mighty slim, for them. Lee Hays

They forgot

CHICAGO, ILL.

Didn't those Presbyterians ever hear that the founders of their church were heretics? Clyde Miller

The American Indian

HONOLULU, T.H.

Lawrence Emery's tragic story of the American Indians reminds me that a beautiful Indian woman named Atalon, at a recital in Honolulu years ago, told her audience that somewhere in a New England state there is a grave, on the tombstone of which are inscribed these words:

"White man, Greeting! The wide land which was ours is now yours. Kind words have given us back enough for a tomb." It would seem that the Eisenhower administration is now determined to take back even the tomb.

Did any other GUARDIAN reader go through James Aronson's review of Salt of the Earth three times without stopping? If the review can so stir one what must the picture do? Adele Rosenstein

Geneva and germs

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

The N.Y. Times printed an AP dispatch Feb 6, next-to-last page, stating that the Government has three germ warfare plants. Three main plants, which it invited private industry to operate. Only firm interested, Mathieson Chemical Co., Baltimore, finally turned the offer down. Reasons for refusals were "the administrative and business problems involved and the mass destruction the weapon would create." (Management obviously thought labor would balk.)

We and Japan are the only world powers refusing to ratify the Geneva agreement not to use germ warfare. Japan is the only country to have suffered the A-bomb, we're the only country to have waged war with it. We've just signed a military pact with Japan: we've occupied it for eight years already (surely not the best way to increase the people's love for us). By doing so, we become a joint menace to the rest of the world—all of it. If we are to be trusted, we must at least ratify the Geneva agreements against all mass destruction weapons. Labor will see this necessity.

Time to speak up—or ever after be in pieces. Elizabeth Rogers

Let Congress know

The Administration's campaign to get both feet into the Indo-China war is reaching a climax. The main factor that will keep American boys out of another far-off slaughterhouse is American public opinion. Nearly all Americans oppose such a move (but few have troubled to say so) for one or both of these reasons:

- They do not want to die or have their sons killed in an attempt to force an unwanted regime on a people 7,000 miles away.
- In any case all responsible military experts say the war cannot be won.

We urge you to write at least one letter to Washington this week—to your own Senator—expressing your view on U.S. participation in the Indo-China war.

REPORT TO READERS

Way to a full life

THE BRONX (N.Y.) ALP on March 26 staged a huge "sing-out" against discrimination by the Parkchester (Metropolitan Life) Houses, and when the ticket-takers stopped counting at least 2,500 people aged 6 to 60 had packed themselves in. Topped by Paul Robeson, it was a singing, dancing, rip-roaring success—and we only hope that some of you non-New York readers, who traveled long distances to attend, arrived early enough to get seats. (See photo, p. 12.)

A NATIONAL GUARDIAN ad in our Mar. 22 issue was responsible for an influx from as far off as Ohio, and if we had known folks were going to turn out the way they did, we might have ararnged for a roped-off section for out-of-town guests.

OUR ANGLE has three points: (1) you learn about the best in goods, services and events by reading ALL the GUARDIAN ads; (2) your organization is missing a full house if your events are not advertised well in advance in the GUARDIAN; and (3) it is good business to make sure that the people you want to reach with your message are GUARDIAN subscribers. When the N.Y. **Daily Compass** ceased publication the Yorkville Compass Club decided to keep going, and has since advertised its functions regularly in the GUARDIAN. Now its affairs are better attended then ever.

GUARDIAN readers have gobbled up gobs of wares ranging from nylons and Kanco blades to typewriters and fancy glass-top coffee tables; potatoes are baked, tots taught, prescriptions filled, pianos moved, TV's and Hi-Fi's bought and serviced through GUARDIAN ads. Best books, best entertainment, best vacation resorts (all non-discriminating and reasonable) are best discovered through the GUARDIAN. And it is with beaming satisfaction that we report (although this is not a guaranteed part of GUARDIAN service) that folks have met life partners at GUARDIAN-advertised resorts and gatherings—and bought the ring at a GUARDIAN-advertised jeweler.

SO, THE WAY TO A FULL LIFE is through the GUARDIAN, where all the best comes to rest. We strongly urge you to take full advantage of this, and to bring your friends along into this realm of real fulfillment. Introductory subs $1 for six months; handy coupon right across the page. —THE EDITORS

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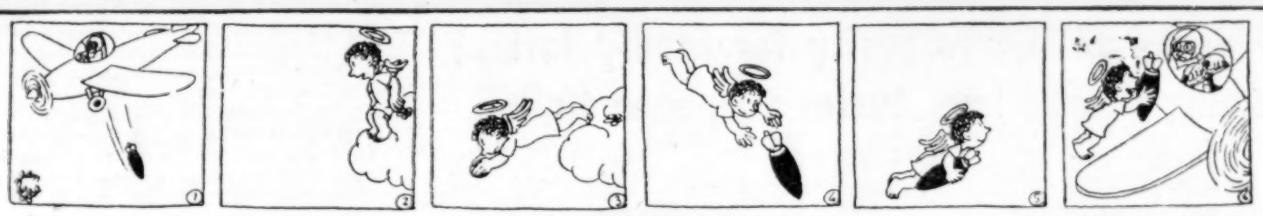


"You dropped something, sir." Drawing by Jean Effel, Paris

THE BOMB, EAST-WEST TRADE, INDO-CHINA, THE WESTERN ALLIANCE

These are the stakes at Geneva

By Tabitha Petran

WITH just three weeks to go before the date (April 26) set for the Geneva conference—in which China will participate—Washington faces its toughest policy crisis since the cold war. At stake are "not only Indo-China . . . but the whole western alliance as well" (Alsops, 3/26). Marquis Childs (N.Y. **Post**, 3/25, 26) saw the alliance's "very existence . . . threatened," the gap widening between France's need to end the Indo-China war and the desire of some "influential" Americans for "direct U.S. intervention . . . [and] the beginning of World War III." The **Christian Science Monitor** (3/25) reported so many snags the conference might not be held.

Washington's multiplying crises of policy arise from its assumption that it can dictate terms to the rest of the world. This assumption rests mainly on:

- Its alleged atomic-hydrogen lead. (In face of the worldwide demand for outlawing such weapons following its "reckless experimentation in Pacific waters" [Walter Millis, 3/23], it announced (1) another bomb had been set off March 26; (2) an even bigger test explosion for the eve of Geneva; (3) doubling of expenditure on H-bomb production.)

- Alleged superiority of the U.S. economic system. ("One of the wonders of the world"—Pres. Eisenhower, 1/7.)

"PEACE THE ONLY DEFENSE": The first claim was shattered by the Soviet H-bomb explosion last August. But it took the "uncontrollable violence" of the March 1 test (Millis) to bring home to most of the world what the U.S.S.R. has insisted for 9 years. **CSM** (3/25) put it this way: "H-BOMB ALERTS WORLD: PEACE IS ONLY DEFENSE."

Concern over A- and H-bombs has now become "a serious political issue" for Western governments (N.Y. **Times**, 3/28). All five political parties in Japan demanded their outlawing. In Britain the same demand from a large number of MP's and much of the press was coupled with pleas for an immediate top-level meeting with the U.S.S.R. From Paris the New York **World Telegram** (3/27) reported: "Atom Jitters Make Europe Parley Hungry." Even some U.S. cold-war stalwarts were shaken. When the President, replying to questions about U.S. responsibility to the world, said something must have happened that "surprised and astonished the scientists," Millis (3/28) found "the patent lameness and obtuseness" of this

> ". . . more frightening . . . than all the leaks and rumors about what happened at Bikini. . . . The present situation is intolerable. On the one hand a group of scientists are secretly developing devices which even they apparently cannot control, capable of wiping civilization off the earth. On the other hand, a various group of diplomatists, civilian managers and soldiers are trying to weave the frightful weapons into a military-diplomatic policy which they cannot explain to the public in intelligible terms. . . ."

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"If these light-hearted U.S. scientists aren't careful they're going to find themselves short of a world to hold World War III in!"

Thirty-six years are a brief period for a new social system, as Soviet Premier Malenkov pointed out recently; but since 1928—excluding the armament and war years 1938-45—Soviet industrial output has risen at a rate which represents a doubling every five years (Maurice Dobb, **Rates of Growth Under the 5-Year Plans**, 4/53). This is four times the U.S. rate of growth from 1899-1937. The contrast can be shown another way. If 1929 is taken as 100, Soviet industrial output stood at 1,266 in 1951 (increased nearly 13 times), the U.S.'s at 200, Britain's at 160, Italy's at 136, France's at 104.

WE WISH THE TIMES WOULD MAKE UP YOUR MIND, HAROLD!

STASSEN'S MISSION IS TO KEEP UP BARS TO SOVIET'S TRADE

N.Y. Times, March 27, 1954
Page One headline

Moreover, the Administration is now proceeding to ease its trade restrictions with the Communist bloc in spite of the sentiment on Capitol Hill for a policy of economic warfare.

Harold Stassen, the Foreign Operations Administration chief, flew to London yesterday to talk to the British and French about cutting down the list of materials that should be denied to Communist countries.

N.Y. Times, March 27, 1954
James Reston, Editorial Page

CSM (3/23) reported "considerable and growing support . . . behind the scenes in the Pentagon and other policy-making centers in Washington" for Millis' thesis that a foreign policy based on these weapons cannot succeed—but also "an equally vigorous dissenting point of view."

CONSTIPATION: At the same time, emerging facts of the turning-point year 1953 were whittling away the second U.S. claim—superiority of its economic system.

In the U.S., huge surpluses weighted down the economy: $80 billion of stocks of goods in industry, wholesale and retail trade, $6 billion of farm surpluses, $6 billion raw-materials stockpile, $100 billion or more armaments stockpile, plus a consumer credit of $28 billion. These pointed to a crisis of over-production even before the production downturn began last July. Predicting the course of the crisis is hazardous, due to distortion of the arms economy and possible political moves. (On one level, such actions as the March 26 decision to widen stockpiling of 40 minerals, presented as both a pump-priming and security measure; on the other, the possibility of a new and necessarily bigger Korea.) But the widening gap between capacity to produce and to consume was suggested by the 70% rise of the former since the war while the latter rose barely 10%. In 1953 wages fell $5 billion at an annual rate.

In the U.S.S.R., economic development had so progressed that a steep rise in living standards could be realistically projected, and begin to be fulfilled, along with continued advance in heavy industry. Real wages, which had risen 68% 1940-52, rose another 13% in 1953.

The realities emerge: socialism is succeeding

Geneva will make myths harder to maintain, and—whatever its outcome—expose how remote is Washington's "policy of strength" from the real relation of forces. The reality is seen in the contrasting economic developments of the socialist and capitalist worlds.

In the post-war period, the fourth (1946-50) Five-Year Plan was chiefly directed at repairing war damage, a goal achieved well before its end: By 1950 industrial output was 48% above 1940, that of agriculture, which suffered particularly heavily in the war, 7%. In 1950, industrial output rose 23%; in 1951, 16%; in 1952, 11%; in 1953, 12%. **Between 1949-53 the increase alone in industrial output was "much greater" (Malenkov) than total industrial output in 1950.**

In the U.S., despite an upward movement from 1946-48, 1948 industrial output was 20% below the wartime peak of 1943. In 1948-49 it fell 17%. The Korean War took it back in March, 1953, to the World War II peak, but this was the end of the boom: since July production has fallen 10%.

"STAGGERING" PROSPECT: Recent studies by capitalist theoreticians, such as **Soviet Economic Growth** by 31 U.S. specialists, discount Soviet statistics as inflated and untrustworthy. The **Economist**, British high-finance organ, noted (2/13) that the authors of this study "cannot be suspected of sympathy for the Soviet regime . . . or accused of naive credulity. Some contributors have rather erred on the side of undue caution, approaching every Soviet figure with utmost suspicion." Even so, said the **Economist**,

> ". . . after deflating the exaggerated Soviet claims out of recognition, American experts agreed that Soviet national income is probably rising by about 6½ to 7% per annum and that industrial production is expanding even more rapidly. This is an incomparably faster rate than that prevailing in any Western country. It should also be remembered that Soviet growth is uninterrupted by slumps and that the years chosen to compute this average were not years of 'boom' reconstruction but normal peace years."

The **Economist** added that the "exceptionally rapid growth of the national cake throughout the Soviet world . . . might well shock many complacent Western economists"; it found "staggering" the prospect that Soviet output in 1970 would be 4½ times that of 1950 (by American calculations). "It would be foolish to ignore [the regime's] economic achievements. Efficiency is one of history's criteria."

MORE & MORE GOODS: Likewise wearing thin are Western attempts to picture the Soviet people as getting no benefit from the economic advance. Soviet living standards have not approached the American post-war standard—certainly not in terms of the American emphasis on clothes, autos, refrigerators, etc. (The Soviet standard has stressed medical, social, cultural, educational services.) But consumer-goods output has risen steadily (about 3½ times 1928-40, and 23% 1946-50), if much less rapidly than heavy industry.

The yearly price-cuts begun in 1947 doubled consumer purchasing-power by 1952; the 1953 reductions raised it by 46 billion rubles (roughly $11 billion). The spurt in consumer-goods production in 1953's second half put on the markets an additional 30 billion roubles (roughly $7 billion) worth of goods. British businessman J. B. Scott, after a recent business trip to Moscow, wrote (London **Star**, 3/1):

> "The shops were stacked with goods, from vacuum cleaners and refrigerators to eggs and cheeses. . . . The Russian people seem to have enough money to buy what was on show and they were doing so on a large scale."

MORE TRADE: The Soviet government successfully tackled the gigantic task of industrialization after World War I; the organization of war economy with its most industrialized regions under occupation, in World War II; and the development of atomic energy. To such a regime, substantial raising of farm output and living standards should present no insuperable problems. This advance on the consumer-farm front comes on top of a huge Soviet contribution (still continuing) to industrialization of China, N. Korea, the People's Democracies. At the same time the great power plants of the current Five-Year Plan (Kuibyshev, Stalingrad, Mingechaur in the Caucasus, Kakhovka in the Ukraine, Kama in the Urals, Angara near Lake Baikal) are nearing completion.

Rapidly expanding Soviet economy means a rapidly accelerating volume of trade with the outside world. This capacity for trade expansion on a scale impossible before the war has become a highly operative factor on the world scene, as Harold Stassen's hurried trip to London "to put the brakes on moves toward relaxing East-West trade restrictions" (**NYT**, 3/23) showed.

TREMBLING TYCOONS: The brakes must be applied, says Washington, to prevent development of Soviet war economy. But what the Rockefellers, Mellons, Morgans and DuPonts, who call the Washington tune, really fear is Soviet peace economy, which aims not for maximum profits but maximum satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs.

The brandishers of A- and H-bombs have shown that they will risk the destruction of all mankind in their crusade to destroy that system. But the clock of history is not so easily reversed; their agonizing dilemmas present the people with their opportunity to step in and re-direct policy toward peace.

FARM NFU convention insists on 100% parity for family farms; Benson speech stirs a storm; Stover lays ouster to peace fight

Special to the GUARDIAN

DENVER, COLO.

THE Eisenhower plan to institute a sliding scale of price supports for farm products drew a sharp answer from the Natl. Farmers Union biennial convention held in Denver from March 15 to 19. Key point in a 49-page program adopted by the delegates was this:

"We urge enactment of mandatory 100% of parity supports on family farm production of all farm products."

The extent of the cleavage between the NFU and the Administration was spelled out plainly:

"We are definitely opposed to any type of sliding scale, variable or flexible . . . regardless of whether the bottom of the scale is 60% of parity, 75% of parity or some other level—support under such a system is practically no support in that the support price is lowest when most needed to augment low farm prices and highest when least needed because of high farm prices."

NO MULTIPLE PRICE: To maintain 100% parity—which means a level of farm income sufficient to cope with the prices of things the farmer must buy—the convention favored

". . . all effective methods of farm price support including, but not restricted to, price support loans, purchases, purchase agreements, and parity production payments to producers."

Also opposed were all two-price or multiple-price systems (one price for domestic sale, another for export) which meant a blended average price to the farmer below 100% of parity.

Chief proponents of the inflexible 100% supports were two former officials of the Truman administration, both now staff officials of the NFU; Charles F. Brannan, former Agriculture Secretary, and Leon Keyserling, former economic adviser to Truman. NFU president James G. Patton said their speeches at the convention "laid the groundwork" for the policies adopted.

A BLUSH FOR BENSON: Their past associations gave the convention the air of a wrangle between Republicans and Democrats because present Agriculture Secy. Ezra T. Benson accepted an invitation to address the gathering. His appearance was surprising to some, just as the invitation was surprising to him; he admitted that " it caused a raised eyebrow or two in the Department" when it arrived.

Benson not only made a forthright defense of his program, but turned many a face red when he reported results of research into testimony preceding the Agricultural Act of 1948:

"The record shows that your organization [NFU] supported both the principles of flexible price supports and modernized parity." (Modernized parity is a new formula giving farmers a lower return than the old one).

80,000 SQUARE MILES COVERED BY DUST IN TEXAS
Panhandle storm stirs uneasy memories of the Dust Bowl of the '30s

Benson also reminded his audience that Truman had supported flexible supports at that time. He made these points:

"Now if your officers and perhaps many of you delegates supported flexible supports and modernized parity in 1948, it must have been because of a conviction that they were good for agriculture. . . . Right and wrong haven't changed since 1948. . . . Therefore, it is difficult to see why one who favored flexible supports in 1948 would not favor them now."

INSOMNIA SETS IN: Next day three top NFU officers—Patton, Glenn Talbott, a national director and president of the North Dakota FU, and M. W. Thatcher, general manager of the Grain Terminal Assn., complained that they had been unable to sleep because of the Benson speech, but none denied the Benson charge.

Patton declared that he had "a flexible mind" and insisted that in 1948 the only alternative to flexible supports was no farm program at all. But he called Benson's speech "an insult" and made the counter-charge that Benson had tried to wreck price controls during World War II. Talbott called the Benson speech "diabolical," challenged Benson's figures, and denounced him for recently inciting city consumers against farmers. Thatcher accused the Secretary of "trickery," "dishonesty" and "subversion."

The invective had little effect on Benson. On March 28 he announced in Washington that there will be "no last minute switch" in his decision to reduce price-support levels on butter to 75% of parity on April 1, and predicted that President Eisenhower will veto any bill to continue present 90% supports on basic crops.

2 CHARTERS LIFTED: The Farmers Union convention did not indicate how it will carry on the fight for its 100% parity program. Many saw the fight weakened at the outset by decision of the national board, endorsed by the full convention, to lift the charters of the Iowa Farmers Union and the Eastern Division (GUARDIAN, March 29).

Ostensible reason for the ousters was that the two divisions lack minimum membership requirements, but an unidentified NFU official was quoted in the press as accusing both groups of "'extreme left wing, if not Communist' sympathies." Fred Stover, president of the Iowa FU, and Louis Slocum, executive secretary of the Eastern Division, both denounced this as an expression of McCarthyism. Patton insisted that "no one in official capacity has libeled or smeared anyone."

IOWA & PARITY: Officially the Iowa organization was charged with a "deterioration in effectiveness," but Stover argued that, if anything, it was too effective. He had this to say of the 1948 decision to support flexible supports referred to by Benson:

"The September, 1948 NFU Board meeting endorsed the 'bi-partisan' Hope-Aiken farm program (the flexible, 60%, sliding scale). . . . But Stover did not attend the national board meeting in 1948. Within a few days the Iowa convention came out for a full parity program and direct production payments. This action . . . set the pattern that was soon approved by the rank and file members in other states and the full parity floor became a rallying point for other state conventions until the NFU accepted it. . . . [The Iowa Division] was so effective that it changed the whole policy of the NFU from the 60% floor to 100%."

Stover told newsmen that the difficulties of his organization with the national office began when "we didn't go along with Truman's war" in Korea.

HOW'S YOUR BACKGROUND? One official reason for the ouster of the Eastern Division was what the board called "a dissimilarity in background." Many detected ominous overtones in this statement, since a large proportion of the Eastern Division's membership consists of Jewish poultry raisers.

In a formal statement Stover said:

"The extent to which participation in the American witch-hunt has already syphoned off the dynamics of our militant tradition is today the greatest tragedy of our Union. It tends to make some leaders of a great organization ashamed of its own glorious history. . . . We shall continue to build as before and to organize more farmers in order to achieve the traditional goals of the Farmers Union. May the strength of our hope and resolve be as great as the task before us."

Give This Paper To A Friend Keep It Moving!

CHICAGO Key races in April 13 primary; Negroes seek seats in State Legislature

In addition to the strong fight being waged by Republican Robert H. Allison to unseat Rep. Harold Velde in the 18th Illinois Congressional District (Peoria and surrounding areas), these are key contests in that state's primaries April 13—first in the nation:

ROCK ISLAND

Robert (Hal) Roach, an Intl. Assn. of Machinists (AFL) business agent, is running in the Democratic primary against a machine hack, on a program of aid to farmers and workers. He has the support of virtually all labor in the area. The Republican is Robert Chiperfield, one of the worst in Congress.

CHICAGO

In the 80% Negro 2d Senatorial District (Near West Side), a prominent Negro doctor, Joshua M. Brown, is running against the gangster-ridden West Side bloc. There is no Negro

legislator from this area. Years ago, Dr. Brown was elected Mayor of Westown in tribute to his services to the community. He is pushing for a special session of the Legislature on jobs, relief, higher unemployment compensation, FEPC, schools and housing.

In the 75% Negro 5th Senatorial (Hyde Park, Kenwood, Woodlawn), a young Negro schoolteacher and lawyer, Marmaduke Carter Jr., is in the race. There is now only one Negro legislator out of four (1 Senator, 3 Representatives) in the Legislature. Carter is backed by the Ind. Voters of Illinois, the ADA affiliate, and other community groups; he is pushing for a special Legislature session on a program similar to Brown's.

In the 9th Senatorial (Southwest Side), a local business man, John G. Fary, is running for the Legislature. Leaders of Local 108 and 101 of the Farm Equipment Workers of UE helped secure his nomination from the regular Democratic organization. While his election is virtually assured, labor is plunking for Fary, who is pushing for action on unemployment and related issues, to give him additional stature in the Legislature.

In the 19th Senatorial (West Side-Lawndale to Cicero), Marion T. Calligaris, Chairman of an AFL Railway Clerks local, has a number of CIO and AFL locals backing his candidacy. He is also pushing for a special session on labor's problems.

In the 29th Senatorial (Near North Side), a Negro minister, Rev. Theolia John Griffin, is running for the Legislature. He has vigorous support in the community. The area is at least one-third Negro with no Negro representation in the Legislature. He is also pushing for a special session on issues already mentioned.

Be basic, now

Coincident with the announcement that movie rights of his book, "The Spirit of St. Louis," have been sold for a price that could top $1,000,000—a record—Charles A. Lindbergh last night urged Americans to adopt a less materialistic outlook and concern themselves with more basic human values.

—N.Y. News, 1/25/54.

GOVERNOR GRANTS CLEMENCY

Wells will not die

WESLEY ROBERT WELLS will not die. Last week Gov. Goodwin J. Knight of California said he would commute Wells' death sentence subject to the state Supreme Court's approval. On March 30 the court advised him that the application for commutation

". . . has been considered by the members of the Supreme Court, and a majority of the justices recommend that the sentence of death be commuted to life imprisonment without possibility of parole."

Wells was to have died in San Quentin's gas chamber April 9. The Governor's recommendation specifically denied to Wells the chance to apply for a parole. When he heard of the Governor's recommendation, Wells said:

"I am ready now to take my rightful place in society outside. I hope and am assured that my friends will continue to work for my freedom."

Gov. Knight paid grudging tribute to these friends when he said his clemency recommendation was made

". . . in spite of rather than because of the abnormal pressures exerted by certain extremist factions whose efforts neither aided prisoner Wells nor the reaching of a proper conclusion."

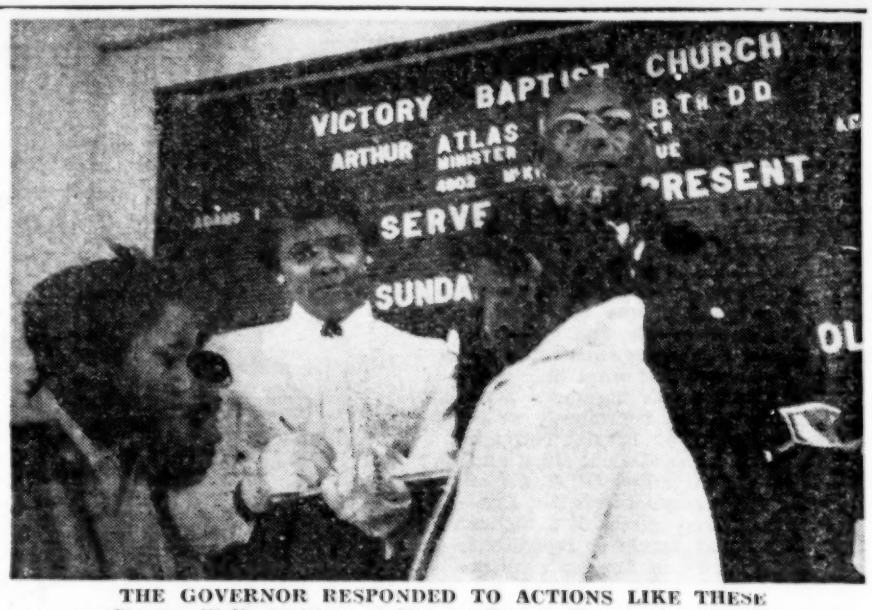
Among the "factions" which publicly took credit for helping the governor reach his "proper conclusion" was Walter Winchell.

RIGHT TO LEFT: The mass fight to save Wells was conducted, as a matter of fact, by a movement as politically broad as any ever organized in the U. S. around such an issue. It ranged from Winchell to the Civil Rights Congress. An incomplete summary shows these involved:

At least 33 AFL, CIO and independent international unions or union locals; the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliances of San Francisco, Stockton and Marin City; San Francisco Baptist Ministers Union; individual ministers of all faiths up and down California and in many cities throughout the country; the Los Angeles **Tribune**, California **Eagle**, San Francisco **Lighthouse**, Bay Area **Journal**, Valley **Jewish News**, and several union publications.

Committees of white and Negro lawyers and of physicians grouped together to plead for clemency, as did individual newspaper columnists and Judge A. A. Scott, who sentenced Wells to prison in 1932.

HIS STORY: Wells, 44, had been sentenced to die for hurling a cuspidor at a prison guard after a series of provocations beyond endurance. The guard was injured but returned to work in five days. In narrating the story of his life (GUARDIAN, 12/7/53), Wells presented the picture of a boy raised in abject poverty, deprived of any kind of love, growing to manhood and petty crime with the bitterness of this background. In his long years in prison he educated himself and achieved an understanding of his circumstances which have evoked the admiration of all who have visited him.



THE GOVERNOR RESPONDED TO ACTIONS LIKE THESE
Signing Wells petitions at Victory Baptist Church, Los Angeles

Next job: Save Walter Lee Irvin

IN JULY, 1949, there broke in Florida what became known as the "Groveland Scottsboro Case." A 27-year-old white farm wife accused four Negro youths of rape. In the subsequent pillaging and burning of the Negro community by white mobs, Ernest Thomas, 26, was riddled with bullets and buckshot while "resisting arrest." Samuel Shepherd and Walter Lee Irvin, 22, were convicted and "tried" by an all-white male jury and sentenced to the electric chair. Charles Greenlee, 16, was given life on the chain gang.

The U. S. Supreme Court ordered a new trial for Shepherd and Irvin. On their way from state prison for retrial handcuffed Shepherd was shot to death for "trying to escape." Handcuffed Irvin was badly wounded, recovered, was again convicted and sentenced to die. He again appealed. The U. S. Supreme Court this time refused a hearing.

A group of white ministers known as the Florida Committee on Social Justice appealed to the state Parole Board, acting Gov. Charley Johns presiding. The Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People on March 23 urged the Governor and the four other members to spare Irvin's life. They listened in silence, then denied the plea. Gov. Johns' announcement of the execution date is expected soon.

There is still time to persuade him and his parole board—as the governor of California was persuaded in the Wells case—to spare Walter Lee Irvin. Address: Gov. Johns, State Capitol, Talahassee, Fla.

Little known facts about the red menace

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn. (AP)—Criminal Judge Ralston Schoolfield has indicated an "organized group," possibly communist inspired, might be a guiding force behind the continuing series of attacks on women here. . . . Police said 17 women have reported they were attacked in recent weeks.

Most of the women have "just been beaten up, not raped," said Schoolfield, and he added the attacks might be inspired by communists to create friction between races here.

—Lakeland (Fla.) Ledger, 2/15/54.

CALENDAR

Chicago

PROGRESSIVES this is **YOUR** theater! **CINEMA ANNEX**, Madison near Kedzie. See daily listing under "movies" "West."

Attention progressive Chicagoans! Don't forget to attend 11th Anniversary of **WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING!** April 10, 8:30 p.m., Palmer House (Grand Ballroom). Dramatic presentation "**WARSAW MARTYRS**" with stars of 'Sholem Aleichem" Howard DaSilva and Jacob Ben-Ami. Also Cantor Moses Silverman. "LET US NEVER FORGET."

Washington, D. C.

DR. ROYAL W. FRANCE, noted Civil Rights lawyer, will speak on "The Crisis in Civil Rights." Dramatic presentation of Sobell Case. Entertainment. Wed., April 7, 8:30 p.m. Odd Fellows Hall, 9th & T Sts., N.W. Auspices: Rosenberg-Sobell Committee of Washington. Admission: Free.

Philadelphia

FOUR CLASSES
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Sun., April 4, 2:30; Mon., April 12, 8 p.m.; Sun., April 25, 2:30; Sun., May 2, 2:30. 2014 N. 32d St.

Detroit

SCOTT NEARING recently returned from Europe, will speak on "Recovery & Discovery in West Europe"
Friday, April 16—8 p.m.
Park Room, Tuller Hotel
Park and Adams. Adm.: Free.

Los Angeles

CALIFORNIA and nation honor **STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN**, president, Community Medical Foundation, at a TESTIMONIAL DINNER, Sat., Apr. 10, 7 p.m., Park Manor, 607 S. Western Av. Sponsor: Community Medical Foundation. Donation: $5. Reservations: WY 6633.

CONCERT FOR CONTEMPORARIES—First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St., 8 p.m., Sun., April 18. Eleven West Coast composers furnish NEW music, eight artists sing and play it. Admission: 50c.

ARCHITECTURE 1936 TO TOMORROW. Talk and Exhibit by Julius Schulman, noted architectural photographer. Thurs., April 8, at 1st Unitarian Church, 8th & Vermont. Talk: 8:30. Exhibit: 7:30-8:30. Presented by Architects and Engineers Division, ASP.

San Francisco

BOOK FAIR, April 9-10-11. Bargains in hard-to-get books, prints, records. Fri., eve., Sat. & Sun., 1 p.m. on. **PETE SEEGER**, Sat., 6 p.m. Buffet Supper, $1. California Labor School, 321 Divisadero. UN 3-3023.

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JEAN PAUL SARTRE: "Troubled Sleep," a novel; $1.50 ppd. "Pragmatism," Harry Wells, $1.65 ppd. "Pictorial History of the Jews," Ausabel. List price $5, your price $4.25 ppd. Jack Foner, Box 576, Long Beach, N. Y.

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Records

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What's behind the coffee gouge?

By Joao da Voide

AMERICAN coffee drinkers are being robbed, defrauded and swindled each time they buy or make one of the hundred-billion cups of coffee they consume each year.

There is no shortage of coffee today, there will be no shortage this summer —and if prices had any relationship to the laws of supply and demand, coffee should be costing American consumers just about half what they pay.

Responsible for this barefaced banditry are the already enormously wealthy coffee kings of Brazil. Through subtle market manipulation, aided and abetted by the majority of U.S. coffee importers and manufacturers, the Brazilians have driven prices 300% higher since 1948. Dollar wise, this represents an **annual** gouging of America's coffee drinkers of over $1,500,000,000.

Every time coffee prices are increased 1c on New York's Coffee and Sugar Exchange, it costs coffee-drinkers $27,000,000. The end is not yet in sight. With coffee selling today for 85c, the Brazilians are openly declaring their ambition of attaining $1 a pound. A pound of this coffee will retail in the U.S. above $1.50.

THE FAMOUS FREEZE: As Brazilian prices set the standard for all coffee prices, the Brazilians have found happy allies among other producing nations. With almost unlimited funds available for propaganda campaigns, the U.S. has been inundated with high-powered publicity avowing that high prices are the result of shortages created by a freeze in Brazil last July.

Unlike most Brazilian freezes which provided the alibi for price increases, this freeze actually happened. It damaged some 2,000,000 coffee trees severely, 20,000,000 to a lesser degree. While at first sight these figures seem impressive, they represent little. Brazil counts its coffee trees in the billions. New production in other coffee-growing countries will more than equalize Brazil's losses.

COFFEE TO BURN: Actually most unbiased observers feel there is more

coffee being grown today than is being consumed. Immediately following last summer's freeze the head of the Brazilian Coffee Institute announced in a quickly-buried press release that the freeze had **saved** Brazil from price-dropping overproduction.

In a survey of world coffee production issued last summer, the UN Food & Agriculture Commission said 9% more coffee was being produced in 1954 than in 1939. Translated, this means 5,000,000 bags above the publicized consumption figures for the world today.

THE PEONS: Brazil's coffee business is a tight monopoly. On the coffee exchange in Santos, major coffee-exporting city, the traders and exporters thus describe their industry: "We don't sell coffee; we permit others to buy." Through their agents in the large U.S. consuming centers, they know exactly how much coffee the manufacturers need and the maximum price the trade can afford without slowing public sale.

U.S. manufacturers quickly pass on all green coffee price increases to the public after adding a cent or two to augment their own profits. Many of them have large investments in the huge coffee plantations recently planted in Parana, Brazil's new coffee empire. These farms encompass tens of thousands of acres, often four or five villages whose inhabitants are in virtual peonage to the planters. Schools, sanitation, doctors are almost unknown.

VAST PROFITS: The U.S. Embassy's agricultural expert said last July, when coffee was selling for 53c a pound, that the planters on these huge plantations were clearing 346% **net** profit on their investment each year. An average Parana plantation will harvest annually over 5,000,000 pounds of marketable coffee.

There might be some argument for high prices if some of the swollen profits seeped down to the masses of Brazilian coffee workers. But the Brazilian Coffee Institute, the coffee interests' spokesmen in the U.S., declared to a subcommittee of the Senate Agricultural Committee—in an attempt to justify a 23c coffee increase—that a family of four, mother, father and two children, earned less than $1.50 collectively per day. The purchasing power of Brazil's money today is about 60% of a dollar.

THE RED MENACE: As is the rule in the U.S., the coffee-drinking public has been virtually abandoned in the struggle to bring prices down. At the beginning of the price climb, three government investigating committees announced plans to do something about the increases. Their efforts were doomed before they started.

The Brazilian coffee-growers and their allies are tough fighters. Marshaling their heavy cannon, they sent into Secy. Dulles' office in the State Dept. seven ambassadors, who banged on the desk and reminded him of the unity of the Latin-American UN bloc and its importance to the U.S. They threatened to sell their coffee to tea-drinking Russia, said U.S. interference with the hallowed laws of supply and demand would drive their countries into the hands of local communists.

The order went out to calm the investigations, and U.S. drinkers got another economic slapping around the ears. Even the lunchwagons and restaurants are grabbing their share of the loot. They pay around $1 for a pound of coffee, from which they get 48 to 50 cups. Even adding 1c a cup for sugar and cream and service, their profit is handsome at 10c. But the restaurant average across the nation is now, 15c a cup.

SURROGATE REJECTS FAMILY'S PETITION

City claims efforts to prevent orphaning of Rosenberg children were 'exploitation'

SURROGATE WILLIAM T. COLLINS last week asserted his court's jurisdiction to name a guardian for Michael and Robbie Rosenberg, and set April 5 at 10:30 a.m. for a hearing to consider "the qualifications of all persons nominated as guardian" not only of the children but of their "property."

The children have no property; a trust fund has been set up in their behalf administered by five persons under a trust agreement. Emanuel Bloch was a member of the trust fund board at his death.

OVERRULED: Collins overruled all challenges to his jurisdiction raised by Gloria Agrin, attorney representing Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg, with whom the children are now living, and other members of the family. He also rejected a plea that the matter be decided by a jury.

On March 5, as reported in the N.Y. Times, Surrogate Collins invited all who are interested in the best possible guardians being appointed for Michael and Robbie Rosenberg to write and tell him their views.

The GUARDIAN urges all readers who have not already done so to avail themselves of Surrogate Collins' invitation. Address: Surrogate William T. Collins, Surrogate's Court, Hall of Records, 31 Chambers St., New York City 7.

The children had been living happily with Mr. and Mrs. Abel Meeropol, with the consent of Mrs. Rosenberg and two maternal aunts, until the New York City Welfare Dept. charged they were being "neglected" and "exploited" and demanded that they be given in the care of the head of the Jewish Child Care Assn.

Domestic Relations Judge Jacob Panken, without a hearing, turned the children over to one of the association's schools; his action was later reversed by State Supreme Court Justice James B. NcNally, who restored them to Mrs. Rosenberg pending final court decision.

THE "LOST" DOCUMENT: A bill of particulars, given by the city March 30 in response to a demand by Miss Agrin, produced no charges of "neglect." To support its claim to take over guardianship of the children, it asserted that written authorization to commit the children "as a public charge" had been given the City Welfare Commissioner by Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, while both were in detention in 1950 before their trial. The statement added:

> "The original authorizations have been lost, destroyed or stolen."

The fact is that the children were removed from the Bronx Hebrew Children's Home by Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg in 1950 after they had been placed there by Ethel's mother, Mrs. Tessie Greenglass who, according to Miss Agrin's original brief, neither wanted them nor could care for them properly.

THE KOREAN WAR: The bill of particulars based the charge of "exploitation" on these allegations:

> "The names of these children have been exploited at meetings and by the distribution of literature in the U.S. and in Canada, in E. Germany and France at which the U.S. government has been attacked and defamed and at which the role of the U.S. in the Korean war has been misrepresented and distorted and at which the motives of the U.S. government in the prosecution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg have been attacked and misrepresented. . . . [Mrs.] Sophie Rosenberg did not prevent the exploitation of the children by these un-American elements. . . but . . . completely surrendered the control of the children to these elements . . . Abel and Ann Meeropol . . . are identified with the same group or groups which have exploited the Rosenberg case and plight of the Rosenberg children for dissemination of anti-American propaganda."

The burden of the city's case was that the attempts to get justice for Michael's and Robbie's parents, save them from being orphaned, and—when their parents were dead—save them from destitution, constituted "exploitation." The children's "property" was said to consist of royalties from the Rosenbergs' **Death House Letters**; proceeds from the sale of Julius' business; the trust fund "in excess of $40,000" raised without a penny of overhead expense by Bloch, and now administered without recompense by "the so-called Board of Trustees"; and

> ". . . additional funds which will continue to be raised in the U.S., Canada and elsewhere. . . ."

SOCIAL WORKERS PROTEST: Surrogate Collins' secretary reported that "several hundred letters and telegrams from all parts of the U.S. and many cablegrams from France" had been received urging that the boys be left in the custody of the Rosenberg family.

On March 30 a statement signed by more than 250 social workers, including executives and psychologists, was submitted to Mayor Robert F. Wagner protesting the children's removal from the Meeropol home by the city. The statement said:

> "We . . . consider it our professional responsibility to express strong disapproval of the way in which basic human considerations, as well as established child welfare practices, have been violated in this case. . . . We urge that thorough consideration be given to the needs of these children and that their emotional well-being be the only concern in planning for them."

Civil liberties parley

SEVERAL Congressmen and Senators in addition to editors, professors and other civil liberties organizations have been invited to a conference on civil liberties legislation, called for April 10 (10 a.m. to 5 p.m.) at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D.C., by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Quoting Dr. Albert Einstein's recent call to intellectuals "to do their duty," at a time when "those who are about to lead us toward an authoritarian government are particularly concerned with intimidating and muzzling that group," the ECLC said: "Now is the time to tell your Congressmen and Senators about your civil liberties, if you don't like McCarthyism, paid perjurers, informers and wire-tappers."

Registration for the conference is $5 including lunch. ECLC's address: 421 7th Av., N.Y.C. 1.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S DILEMMA

GOP stalls McCarthy quiz: Does Dulles need him more?

By Lawrence Emery

THE Eisenhower Administration last week was convulsed in a contradiction it could not solve: it couldn't live with Sen. Joe McCarthy, but it couldn't live without him, either. McCarthy—or some valid equivalent—was essential for maintaining the backdrop of morbid fear before which John Foster Dulles rattled his H-bombs before the world. But McCarthy was in trouble: an investigation of his feud with the Army threatened to open a sump-hole into which few Administration leaders dared to peer. The stench from it had already sickened many.

For three weeks McCarthy's co-red-hunter Sen. Karl Mundt (R-S.D.) had stalled the hearings on the ground that a suitable attorney to conduct them could not be found. But on March 28 Americans for Democratic Action scoffed at this excuse, said it was "preposterous to suggest that a Senate Committee which is seriously intent on hiring a competent and impartial attorney cannot locate an available one in two weeks' time."

PEOPLE MAY FORGET: On March 30 Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) said he was tired of the stalling: if the hearings didn't get under way within 48 hours, he would move to have them taken over by the Senate Armed Services Committee. But that committee's chairman, Sen. Saltonstall (R-Mass.), up for re-election this year, had long since expressed the "prayerful hope" that he would be spared the chore.

The stalling seemed based on the belief that if it went on long enough, the country would forget the evil mess uncovered by the Army's report of how McCarthy and his boy counsel, Roy Cohn, had threatened to "wreck the Army" if their boy investigator, G. David Schine, didn't get preferential treatment as a private.

"THESE WEIRD PEOPLE": The overtones of evil in the Army's report were plain; but few U.S. newspapers discussed them as forthrightly as the Los Angeles **Daily News**, which said they

". . . imply so unnatural, so aberrated a condition that the Nation's welfare demands immediate investigation. . . .

"Who are these weird people in McCarthy's entourage and why does he confer public positions and influence upon them? Why does McCarthy defend their outrageous performances? What is the reason for the intensity with which they band together in these incredibly vicious attacks against anyone who crosses their path?

"The Army's report is like a sudden searchlight cast on crawling things in the darkness, catching in its inexorable beam the distorted personalities of men who have played havoc with our governmental processes and besmirched our national honor before the entire world. Their passions of hatred, their frenzies, their fantastic public displays—such as marked Schine's and Cohn's European tour—their constant turmoil under McCarthy's leadership and in his wake, bespeak not political acts but symptoms of pathology. . . .

"The weird tangle and interplay of strange personalities as disclosed by the Army's report and McCarthy's almost frantic reaction to it, make it absolutely necessary that the American people find out what dis-

SEN. KARL MUNDT
A lawyer in the house?

turbance lies behind the mask of anti-Communism, for the implications are no longer avoidable that behind it lies horror."

COHN & THE BODIES: Columnist Drew Pearson also referred to these murky aspects of the case; asking "Is McCarthy afraid of Roy Cohn?" he gave his own answer:

"Cohn knew all the secrets of the McCarthy investigation. He knew all the bodies buried by the McCarthy committee. He also knew the personal problems, had sat in on at least one conference where McCarthy debated what he should do about the Las Vegas (Nev.) **Sun** and extraordinary allegations it published regarding his personal life which cannot be repeated here. In brief, Cohn knew about all there was to know about McCarthy."

But while the Administration and McCarthy's Senate colleagues tried to keep this smell from seeping out, anti-McCarthyism grew and spread throughout the country.

CONSTRUCTIVE PRAYER: Most remarkable development was in his own home state of Wisconsin where LeRoy Gore, editor of the Sauk **Prairie Star**, rather haltingly began a recall move against the Senator on March 18. For 30 years a Republican and a one-time admirer and supporter of McCarthy, he wrote:

"Our decision to call upon the voters of Wisconsin to repudiate the hysterical McCarthy leadership is no whim of the moment. . . . We have pondered, even prayed over it, for long dismal weeks as the genial Irishman we once greatly admired has showered increasing humiliation upon the party and the state to which we have so long been devoted."

In less than a week the movement had snowballed far beyond Gore's ability to cope with it alone. On March 28 a state-wide meeting was held in Sauk City, attended by nearly 500 persons from 43 of the state's 71 counties, and formed a state-wide "Joe Must Go" organization. More than 125,000 signatures had already been collected on recall petitions; the required 400,000 seemed certain by May 17.

THE SMOKESCREEN: The Wisconsin Fedn. of Labor and State CIO Council both declined to endorse the recall move on the ground of its doubtful constitutionality, but other labor voices were being raised loudly against McCarthyism. **Labor's Daily** on March 23 called McCarthyism a "neo-fascist threat" and wrote:

"Many readers, including several high-placed labor officials have let us know that they see through the McCarthyite tactics. They see the great 'red scare' for what it is, a smokescreen under cover of which the union-haters and the haters of democracy intend to infiltrate us and slit our throats."

Drawing by Gabriel, London

"I still say East-West trade is Bolshevism, slumps at least are American!"

COHN'S KAMPF: Meanwhile the N.Y. Natl. Guard announced it was investigating Roy Cohn's own service record because of a "tremendous number" of inquiries in recent weeks. Cohn first became eligible for the draft on Feb. 20, 1945, while fighting was still going on in both Europe and the Pacific. Former Congressman Benjamin J. Rabin (D-N.Y.) nominated him for West Point and Cohn was deferred. When he couldn't pass West Point's physical examination, he was nominated again and again failed the test. In August, 1946, he was classified 1-A in spite of a third nomination. His appeal from that classification was never passed upon because the draft was halted late in 1946.

Cohn enlisted in the Natl. Guard a few days before the draft went back into effect on July 1, 1948. He is now a first lieutenant in the Judge Advocate-General's Dept. If he is ever called to active duty his assignment will be—helping to run the draft.

● Bring articles like this into the homes of more people. Introductory sub only $1 for six months. Sign up your friends!

Senator McCarthy: the man who —

Was censured by the Wisconsin Supreme Court for destroying evidence in an important case in which he was judge.

Was found by this same court to have violated his oath as a lawyer and a judge.

Was charged by the Board of State Bar Commissioners with "moral turpitude."

Tried to fool the people about his war record, claiming he enlisted as a private when he actually entered service as a commissioned officer; pretended to have been wounded when he actually injured his foot in a moment of horseplay on board a ship in peaceful waters.

Left the military service of his country while the war was still raging so that he could advance his own political fortunes.

Accepted $10,000 from the Lustron Corp. (for a booklet) while he, as a Senator, was serving on a committee passing on policies of a Federal agency lending millions of dollars to that corporation.

Had his bank note indorsed by a Washington lobbyist and immediately championed a sugar control measure of vital interest to that lobbyist.

Had to be required by the Wisconsin Tax Commission to pay more than $2,700 in delinquent income taxes and interest.

Was named by Washington newspaper correspondents as the "worst Senator"; by the American Political Science Assn.'s legislative experts as the "poorest" Senator.

Loosed a campaign of character assassination against many American citizens and institutions while hiding behind his senatorial immunity.

Has been caught in dozens of lies, half truths and misstatements only to leap from one falsehood to another—always making charges, seldom answering them.

—Milwaukee **Journal** (reprinted in Wash., D.C., **Post**, 3/15).

War & Peace

(Continued from page 1)

ophy to take direct action. Exact steps haven't been decided. But the U.S. would either bomb Red China or throw U.S. troops into Indo-China or both. The U.S. would be willing in this case to risk World War III."

PREPARING THE PEOPLE: Reston explained the factors behind the Dulles' statement: it

". . . reflected the apprehension that has been felt in official quarters here about the Geneva Conferenc on Korea and Indo-China; the present status of French politics; and the present state of public opinion in this country . . . [which] was not prepared for armed intervention by the U.S. . . . The Administration has decided that it must do something to make clear to everybody, including the American people, that this region cannot be allowed to slip away to the Communists."

Cromley noted another purpose:

". . . To serve notice on our allies, the British and French, that whatever lure the Reds offer at Geneva . . . and however tempted our friends are to give in (under pressure of their opinion) we are resolved not to give way one thin inch in Indo-China."

IT CAN BE STOPPED: Dulles' speech followed weeks of build-up (leaks, trial balloons, official statements) to condition Americans to accept "the necessary risks" (Sen. Alexander Wiley) of taking over the war. It reflected the deepening crises of Washington's policy as its allies stepped up demands for China's admission to UN, for big trade with the socialist world; as the structure of U.S. policy in Europe was threatened by growing opposition to German rearmament and the post-Berlin relaxation of tension, and as the worsening Indo-China situation threatened U.S. policy in Asia with collapse.

The danger implicit in Dulles' saber-rattling, coming in the midst of the new series of Pacific H-bomb tests, was brutally clear; but sane citizens recalled how earlier steps in the Administration's march to an all-Asian and world war had been halted. In his 1953 State of the Union message the President threatened such a war when he announced the "unleashing" of Chiang Kai-shek to permit attacks on the China mainland. The Alsops disclosed (2/22) that in March, 1953, the President was ready "to order national mobilization and an unlimited effort" to break the Korean stalemate; but world forces for peace finally forced Washington into the armistice. Today, with the forces for war showing greater desperation, compelling the Administration to let the Indo-China peoples mould their own destiny demands greater efforts.

THE LOST WAR: **Tribune des Nations'** military analyst "Col. X" spoke for nearly all France when he wrote (3/12):

"France has lost the war in Indo-China. Premier Laniel has put forward in Parliament the final argument which the diehards can use. It was this:

"M. Mendes France: '. . . So it was necessary to negotiate.'

"M. Laniel: 'After proving to the enemy that he could not be victorious either.'

"It could not be said better, and by a more official voice, that the expeditionary force **can no longer** be victorious. In these conditions, the continuation of the war loses all military justification."

In the Dien Bien Phu battle (**Christian Science Monitor**, 3/24) "the tide was slowly but steadily turning against" the French. If it should fall,

". . . this blow . . . would leave behind it a shambles of fallen French Cabinets . . . frustrated U.S. security plans.'

But CSM found even more significant

". . . indications that formerly pro-French Viet Nam nationalists, severely rebuffed by the collapse of independence talks in Paris this week, are beginning to think in terms of opening negotiations with the Communists. . . . The nationalists now have been deprived virtually of their only reason for existence. Proof of this, together with the ominous implications is seen in the announcement Mar. 25 that former pro-French Premier Tran Van Huu has called for a cease-fire and negotiations with the Communists."

The H-Bomb

(Continued from page 1)

debris, as it drifts like smoke in the wind, there begins here and there to fall the dust of the city's wreckage. This powder is now heavily radioactive.

What happens now depends on the whim of wind and rain, and a dozen complex factors. In one case, with a high burst and little dust, not much comes to earth nearby, but all is spread by the winds until in a week or two the radioactivity is dispersed in a great belt perhaps around the world, so dilute that while the vigilant instruments can sense it and note it well, it does no further harm to man.

THE UNBORN TOO: But at other times, usually when the bomb has burst low, or has been specially "rigged" to produce radiation by burning added elements in its thermonuclear flame, much more can happen. In the first hours, along a great swath downwind, perhaps only a score of miles away or perhaps up to three or four hundred, the fall-out or radioactive dust can contaminate whole counties, even half a state, as it did the deck of the tuna trawler off Bikini. And all who lived below, men and their families, beasts, even the birds, would have at once to leave the region of contamination.

The laggards or the unready would face severe burns, grave illness, possibly death. They could return after some days or weeks in the usual case. Here and there, though, field and forest might become unsafe for all to dwell, perhaps for months and years. And the fate even of the unborn may be formed to disaster by the occasional genetic damage done by unsensed rays.

NO MAN CAN SAY: That the test of such a bomb, even in the lonely Pacific, is free from hazard, no responsible man would say. But it does not seem likely that widespread danger to men can come from the remote test alone, though occasional mischance can bring serious injury to some. Fish and fowl will suffer and some may die, probably for a matter of days, and over a space of some hundred miles or so. What the long-range effects may be of spreading such huge amounts of radioactive material over the complex world of the wild is not known to anyone.

Apparently the March 1 explosion exceeded in power the expectations of its designers, but not by enough to endanger the nearest observers. It was the chance fall-out, dependent on winds and the movement of dust, which injured the unsuspecting fishermen.

The responsibility for that injury rests with the administration of the test. For the fall-out must be followed, and any in its path warned, and removed if necessary. Had the fishermen been removed to a clean boat for a day or two, or perhaps simply warned to stay below decks till midnight, they would in all likelihood have escaped their serious burns.

THE POLITICAL TEST: The test of a bomb 10 times bigger than the one of March 1 is perhaps still possible, though imprudent. Any larger size than that is too big for the Pacific. The prevailing winds at high altitudes blow west to east, and carry the fall-out in the end not to Japan but to the west coast of our continent. The 5,000 miles are still an effective dilution agent.

Still, it is not really the test or the mishap or the error which ought to bring deepest anxiety and determined resistance. It is their political meaning. It is rather the deliberate explosion of such bombs in war, not in a U.S. test over the water-waste of the Marshall Islands, nor in a Soviet test over the tundra of the sub-arctic, but above the homes and cities of man.

Atomic war, in the time of the hydrogen bomb, is wholly evil. With that conclusion few will disagree. The only answer will be elimination of the use of nuclear weapons. Those who speak for peace today have behind their arguments the urgent sound of far Bikini.

Who said "depression"?

. . . Employment by the very nature of the [burial casket] industry is much less subject to cyclical fluctuations than is manufacturing employment in general. Production during the depression years from 1929 to 1933 dropped by only an insignificant quantity. . . . Operations in the future should therefore continue to display the same stability that has characterized the industry in the past.

—Illinois Business Review (U. of Illinois), Feb., 1954.

ON EVE OF DEPORTATION TO S. KOREA

The Kwaks win a stay!

A week before the deadline set by the Atty. General for them to surrender with bags packed at Ellis Island for deportation to S. Korea, Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak won a stay of the order from the Federal District Court in Washington, D.C. The Kwaks, whose story was told in last week's GUARDIAN, have been active in opposition to S. Korean President Syngman Rhee for a dozen years and have declared their allegiance to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (N. Korea). Nevertheless Atty. General Brownell's office, which under the Walter-McCarran Law has discretion not to send deportees to countries where they would demonstrably suffer physical persecution, wrote the Kwaks:

Herblock in Washington Post

"Gosh, it isn't even safe to resign any more."

"After careful examination of all the material submitted by you . . . [we] find no ground to believe that you would be subjected to physical persecution if deported to that country [S. Korea]."

The injunction granted March 31 means that the Kwaks' plea for voluntary departure to a country of their own choice will now be heard by the Federal District Court.

"WE RESPECTFULLY ASK": In a plea to UN correspondents (he is himself UN correspondent of **Korean Independence**) to publicize the hitherto blacked-out case, Chungsoon Kwak pointed out that "as late as Feb. 20, 1954, the **N.Y. Times** reported the 'quiet' execution of a newspaperman in Seoul by Syngman Rhee. It was a quiet one because it was not carried out before the public as originally planned." In their letter to the Human Rights Commission, the Kwaks wrote:

"The refusal of the U.S. Atty. General to find that we would be subjected to physical persecution is utterly beyond reason and reality. Legal, moral or humanitarian considerations could not have entered. . .

"The measures employed by the Rhee regime to suppress and prevent opposition are well-known to all the world. The wholesale persecution, by tortures and death, of any and all opponents of that regime has been widely reported even in the American press. Statements on the subject have been reported from the mouths of U.S. Government officials.

". . . With the rejection of our position by the U.S. Atty. General, we are advised that we have exhausted all legal remedies for relief insofar as the U.S. immigration laws are concerned. . . . We are most respectfully asking the Commission on Human Rights to prevent the U.S. from sending us to our death."

Hyun fight goes on

David Hyun, Korea-born Los Angeles architect, is still fighting against a government order for his deportation to S. Korea. Arrested in 1950, Hyun's deportation as an "undesirable alien" was ordered after three persons swore he was a Communist (see GUARDIAN story, 7/27/53). Pleas by his attorneys to stay the order on the ground he would be physically persecuted in S. Korea were forwarded to Washington last week. Hyun has carried on the tradition of his father, Methodist Rev. Soon Hyun, one of Syngman Rhee's earliest and bitterest foes.

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NEW YORK

THROUGH THE POLITICAL SEWER — IV

Crime bosses show party bosses how to run the city

By Elmer Bendiner

ANY enterprising criminal, above the level of a pickpocket, must sooner or later dirty his hands with machine politics.

Big crime, like big business, must have protection from government and must therefore take a hand in government. Moreover, government shells out more money per year than any private source and, since the money is the public's, it is dispensed generously.

Years ago the public trough was the exclusive province of politicians and selected big businessmen. The operation was somewhat catch-as-catch-can; it lacked the expert touch. That came with the growth of powerful crime syndicates which, for a price, serve big business and the major political machines.

JUDGE ON THE WIRE: In New York the presiding experts at the trough have been three team-mates: Frank Costello, Joe Adonis and Meyer Lansky.

This is a typical day in Frank Costello's life, pieced together from testimony before the Kefauver Senate Crime Investigating Committee. It was some time in 1942, and Costello's control of Tammany Hall was unblushingly admitted. In the morning Costello at his home, 115 Central Park West received a phone call from Thomas A. Aurelio, who thanked him for giving him the Democratic nomination to the N. Y. Supreme Court.

According to Sen. Tobey (R-N.H.) of the Kefauver committee, Justice Aurelio quoted Shakespeare to Costello: "Gratitude is the expectation of favors yet to come." (Justice Aurelio still sits on the bench in the Supreme Court, 1st Judicial Dist.)

POLITICAL SLOTS: Costello conducted his business by telephone until 10 a.m. (Wiretaps revealed callers such as Anthony P. Savarese, now a judge in Queens County Surrogate's Court, and Joseph V. Loscalzo, now sitting in the Court of Special Sessions.) Other calls related to Costello's extensive slot-machine enterprises, an old line of work which brought him not only money but political favor when needed. For example, when Mayor LaGuardia made things difficult in New York, Gov. Huey Long invited Costello to set up his machines throughout Louisiana and give the state a modest cut of the take.

In mid-morning Costello would transfer his headquarters to the barber-shop of the Waldorf-Astoria, where while he was shaved those who had the inside track paid court to him, talked business, made deals. His afternoons would be spent at the golf course, the Waldorf-Astoria, the Hotel Madison or the Copacabana night club where appointments with him might be made by phone.

GOOD WORKS: Though his day sounds pleasant, Costello—on the links or at the bar—was never far from the business of government. Loscalzo, only an aspiring DA then, went around the links with him. Tammany leaders, judges, mayors conferred with him at breakfast, lunch, supper or in his long Copacabana evenings.

There was a short-lived scandal in 1943 concerning Justice Aurelio, and Costello has claimed that he then stepped out of politics. But brief glimpses of his life since then indicate otherwise.

In 1948, in a private dining room at the Biltmore, Costello sat down to dinner with the present Tammany boss, Carmine DeSapio, Generoso Pope, Frank Mancuso and Louis A. Valente. Costello later told crime investigators that his guests came to talk about enlisting his aid in a charity benefit; he couldn't remember the charity. The only one who seemed to have benefited from the dinner was Valente, who soon secured the nomination

(Continued on Page 11)

FRANK ERICKSON (L) AND LAUGHING MOUTHPIECE
Costello could always make a touch

TEN COPS FOR EVERY SCAB
After four weeks of the longshore strike scabs, hard to find, are closely guarded by cops while they work. Shipowners complained that the AFL, out to break the strike, was sending them "goofs" instead of longshoremen. At least one ship's cargo had to be re-stowed completely.

WAR ON THE WATERFRONT

City, state, U.S. officials mount all-out assault but strike holds

THE full power of city, state and national government, every big daily paper and almost every radio commentator are joined in a gigantic, unprecedented strike-breaking effort, effectively sold to the public as "racket-busting."

The full-scale offensive is being tested on the docks of New York where members of the independent Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. have been on strike since March 5. The AFL has joined the offensive; most of the labor movement, even the left wing, has been silent, though the American Labor Party indicated support.

"WE'LL TAKE OUR CHANCE": On Saturday, March 27, N.Y. Gov. Dewey, U.S. Secy. of Labor Mitchell and representatives of the Dept. of Justice met in New York's Roosevelt Hotel, planned immediate prosecution of strike leaders and rank-and-filers, branded the strike a "criminal conspiracy."

The longshoremen seemed unshaken. On Monday the strike was still solid, the waterfront quiet. At strike headquarters, 107 Washington St., strike committee chairman Frank Murray, a broad-shouldered six-footer with nine years on the docks, told the GUARDIAN he thought the strike gained strength over the week-end despite the rallying of government forces. What about the threat of indictments and jail?

Murray looked about the little room where the strike committee had ranged themselves behind him, and said: "I think everybody here will take his chances." The men nodded and smiled.

"GANGSTERS": Strike aims are simple. Picket signs read only: "No contract; no work." This reporter said the slogan sounded like John L. Lewis. Murray said: "Lewis is behind us 100%." He revealed that ILA leaders had seen Lewis on the week-end while Dewey and Mitchell were meeting and received new assurance of support. Earlier the United Mine Workers had contributed $150,000 to help the ILA beat back AFL raiders.

Murray was bitter about newsmen; he said he and others had talked for hours to reporters to give them their side of the story but saw themselves called "gangsters."

Where does Mickey Bowers fit in, this reporter asked? (He is secy. of the "pistol" Local 824.) Murray said: "If Bowers was running this strike I'd know it and I've never even spoken to him. Bowers is doing what his men want him to do. This strike proves it." Of "Tough Tony" Anastasia, Murray said: "Very inactive in the strike, but his rank-and-filers are right in here with us." On a possible ILA return to the AFL: "Never."

Though the strike's aims were pegged to a contract, there was the basic issue of the bi-state waterfront commission's program for complete regimentation of waterfront labor, including screening, fin-

(Continued on Page 11)

2d GUARDIAN FORUM

Editors talk on Geneva at Apr. 23 forum

TIMED to coincide with the Geneva conference, the GUARDIAN's second forum of the season will discuss "China and Indo-China — Peace or War?" Scheduled for Friday evening, April 23, at Adelphi Hall, Room 9B, 74 5th Av., the forum will be chaired by editor Cedric Belfrage. GUARDIAN's own panel of experts, Tabitha Petran and Kumar Goshal, will be joined by a guest authority on China to be announced later.

GUARDIAN's last forum on McCarthyism touched the nation's key news story, stirred not only authoritative platform talk but vigorous sounding-off from the floor. With the threat of direct U.S. involvement in the Indo-China war growing hourly, the coming forum will go behind the hottest headlines, explore the nation's most pressing issue.

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REPORT ON ALBANY

What the Legislature did: People's needs brushed off, racetrack mess whitewashed

By Arthur Schutzer

THE session which ended March 20 was long on linen, very on bread-and-butter. The linen was harness track material. It was tenderly dipped, washed, spot-cleaned and then hung out as the bright new banner of the Dewey administration. The Democrats also joined the legislative laundry games, while bread-and-butter issues were ignored or buried.

New Yorkers could hardly become as excited as Republican and Democratic solons pretended to be as to whether Dewey's pal Tom Curran, or a relative of the late Democratic Minority Leader Irwin Steingut, benefited more from racetrack stock. What the people were—and remain—very much concerned with are:

GOV. THOMAS DEWEY
The parts were well oiled

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE: The Legislature refused to increase benefit rates. It did extend unemployment insurance coverage; however, this does not go into effect unless and until Congress passes similar legislation. This tricky, empty gesture still leaves 500,000 workers in N. Y. State without coverage.

RENT CONTROL: No action on bills to repeal the 15% rent-increase law. Meanwhile, the so-called State Rent Control Commission announced that during February, 1954, it approved 28,184 rent increases and 1,058 certificates of eviction.

HOUSING: Approved a $200 million bond issue for public housing; no action to insure proper relocation for thousands of "displaced persons" evicted for housing projects. Failed to act on measures to compel removal of housing violations and to protect tenants in fire-traps.

TRANSIT AUTHORITY: No action on repeal of the Transit Authority Law which ushered in the 15c fare—with a further increase directly ahead.

SCHOOLS: No action on the desperately-needed state bond issue of $600 million for school construction.

CIVIL RIGHTS: No action on bills to end discrimination in all housing.

ELECTION LAW: Several bills loaded with gimmicks were passed. Thus, voting machines **may** (not must) be used in primaries; permanent personal registration **may** (not must) be adopted by local governments; county committees **may** (not must) provide for direct election of district leaders. Some liberalization of the super-technical requirements for primary petitions was passed (repealed requirement for sworn affidavit by circulator of designating petition; reduced from 7% to 5% the signatures required for independent nominating petitions). However, the Wilson-Pakula Law (enacted in 1947 to prevent enrolled Democrats and Republicans from nominating Vito Marcantonio in party primaries) was left intact, giving the lie to Gov. Dewey's indication of real electoral reform in his January message.

LABOR: On March 28 Dewey signed a bill putting union welfare funds under the stewardship of the State Supt. of Insurance. (Thus the arbitrary, utterly indefensible dissolution of the Intl. Workers Order is followed by similar attacks on union funds.)

NEXT STEPS: Since the Legislature did not see fit to hold public hearings on key bills, the people should insist they be heard in executive public hearings by Gov. Dewey before he acts within the 30-day period on the 914 bills before him. An executive public hearing should be demanded on the anti-labor measures that were rushed through as a by-product of the Harness Track Follies, like the one that would ban the closed shop.

SPECIAL SESSION: The forthcoming special session must not be limited (as Dewey, unfortunately, has the power to do) to bailing out the Long Island RR or to compulsory auto insurance. It should act to combat unemployment, repeal the 15% rent increase and Transit Authority Law, increase state aid to N. Y. C. . . . end discrimination in all housing, repeal the Wilson-Pakula Law, and insure proper salary raises for teachers.

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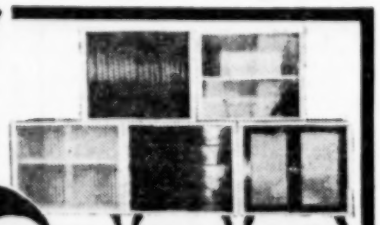

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Film, "DR. EHRLICH'S MAGIC BULLET," starring Edward G. Robinson, in commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of the birth of Paul Ehrlich. Bernard Friedman, commentator. Jefferson School, 575 Av. of Americas, Sun., April 4, 8:30 p.m. $1.

Soviet Art since the Death of Stalin. Lecture by FRED GROSS. Also Book Fair. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m., 863 Broadway (17th St.) Ausp: American Socialist. Cont: 35c.

SAT., APRIL 3, 9 P.M.—Gala Party and Opening of ASP International Arts' Bazaar. All welcome. No contribution. ASP, 35 W. 64th St.

SUN., APRIL 4, 8:30 P.M. Sharp. "The Novel and the People—Defoe to Dickens." Dr. Annette Rubinstein in 3rd of an inspiring series ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Cont: $1.

LECTURE: "The Story Behind the Waterfront Strike." Speaker: Art Sharon. Fri., April 9, 9 p.m. Militant Hall, 116 University Pl., near Union Sq. Contribution: 25c. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party.

PRE-EASTER BARGAIN BAZAAR, Fri., April 9, 6-11 p.m. Sat. & Sun., April 10-11, 1-11 p.m. Admission free. Everything for children and adults. Food served. At Camp Wyandot, 49 E. 19th St., nr. 4th Av.

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The waterfront

(Continued from Page 9)

gerprinting, government hiring halls. That fight, said Murray, "affects every union but they don't seem to realize it."

STRIKEBREAKERS: Murray was hopeful on Monday. He said some of the men who went AFL had come back, some teamsters were refusing to cross ILA picket lines. Ordinarily some 20,000 men work on the docks. At no time during the strike have there been more than 4,000. ILA spokesmen said few of those are longshoremen; most are new to the piers, many of them sent by the Welfare Dept. to accept jobs or go off relief.

The bi-state commission admitted it was easing all rules to qualify longshoremen for their jobs. It was plain from a walk on the waterfront—where police, mounted and foot, far outnumbered pickets—that what kept the strike solid was not gang rule but the simple fact that longshoremen would not break the strike.

HEROES OR HOODLUMS? More than 1,000 ILA members, all war veterans, went to Washington by motor caravan on Sunday night. They picketed the White House waving American Legion banners, wearing overseas hats, carrying placards which read: "Heroes from '41-'45; Hoodlums from '46-'54." AFL pres. George Meany called the picket line "communist strong-arm tactics" to intimidate the government."

In New York, authorities moved swiftly to make good their threats. An undisclosed number of longshoremen were being rounded up and placed under subpena to appear before a grand jury.

"FREE CHOICE": But the heavy artillery was left to the Natl. Labor Relations Board. At an NLRB election last fall the ILA topped its AFL rival by 1,492. There were 4,399 challenged ballots but more than ¾ of these were cast for the ILA and challenged by the AFL.

Last week the Board urged shipping companies to apply for new injunctions against the strikers. The companies complied, and in a series of charges against the union paved the way for the NLRB to press for an injunction banning all pickets and "loiterers" on the water front. In Washington NLRB officials, acting on a trial examiner's opinion, were preparing to rule the last election invalid and schedule a new one.

Gov. Dewey and AFL's Meany pressed for a delay in calling the election. The N.Y. Times indicated the strike should be broken first, commented editorially: "The free choice of the workers cannot be ascertained unless a tranquil atmosphere prevails on the piers."

Mayor Wagner, whose TV back-to-work appeals had failed and who had called on President Eisenhower to act, left the stage for Dewey and quietly went off to Jamaica, B.W.I. for a vacation.

NEW THEATER

Cyanamide

A STURDY, timely off-Broadway offering expertly staged and performed, **Cyanamide** is up the alley of trade unions and others seeking group entertainment with a good-and-welfare aspect.

Cyanamide is a chemical whose production can fill the air with poisonous fumes unless properly filtered. In the industrial valley setting of the play, the management of a cyanamide plant is tampering with the filters to speed production and noxious smog is enveloping the town. The workers are ready to walk off the job in protest, but the man they look to for leadership has been offered a promotion to hold them in line. When tragedy strikes, it does not discriminate between the militant and the lagging.

The play takes its cue from a 1949 occurrence in which a deadly smog caused a number of deaths in a Pennsylvaia town; but today's playgoers can hardly miss a more up-to-the-minute cue provided by the radioactive H-bomb ash that has been raining upon Pacific peoples. —J. T. M.

N.Y. corruption

(Continued from Page 9)

for Surrogate and is now sitting as a State Supreme Court Justice, 1st judicial district.

HOW TO BE A MAYOR: In December, 1949, Louis Lipsky, a long-standing Republican who nevertheless ran frequent messages from Mayor O'Dwyer to Costello, journeyed out to Costello's Sands Point residence. His mission: to secure Costello's help in getting Frank Quayle the Democratic nomination for Mayor. He explained that even as a Republican he was interested in the Democratic nominee, because in the city, "There's no votes on the Republican end for Mayor."

Committee Counsel Rudolph Halley asked: "Based on your years of experience in politics in this city, did you believe it was necessary to get Costello's backing for your candidate?"

Lipsky: "I would say so."

"YOU SAY, 'FINE'": Costello mixed not only with politicians. His callers were as varied as his interests. Frank Erickson, convicted of heading a large and lucrative bookmaking ring, was a frequent caller at the Waldorf-Astoria barber shop. Twice a week, Erickson told the Senate crime probers, he played golf at the Garden Club with Costello, George Morton Levy of the harness track combines and an internal revenue agent who has since profited handsomely from a modest raceways investment.

Erickson, who left school after the fourth grade, had a reported income of close to $200,000 a year in 1946. Though he had made good in his own way he still served Costello as an underling, guiding Costelo's oil investments and lending him occasional large sums. He reportedly persuaded Costello to install Mike Kennedy as Tammany leader, though Erickson denied all interest in politics. Asked about his membership in the Natl. Democratic Club, Erickson said:

"Well, you know how people solicit you to join a club and you say, 'Fine,' and they say, 'We will have a nice time down there, and have a few drinks'; and I joined it."

PAYING THE BILL: Under Mayor O'Dwyer Costello's friends flourished. Among those who found themselves in high office was Hugo Rogers, who became leader of Tammany Hall and also member of the city's Traffic Board. Rogers' assistant was Philip Zichiello, brother-in-law of Willie Moretti, who operated across the river in New Jersey as a kingpin racketeer and gambler.

Later Zichiello was made deputy commissioner of the Dept. of Hospitals. O'Dwyer told the Kefauver investigators: "There are things you have to do politically if you want co-operation."

THE ATTRACTION: O'Dwyer mingled in the same circles as Costello for years and, along with top Democratic leaders, often patronized Joe Adonis' restaurant near Brooklyn's Borough Hall. As Dist. Atty. he had headed the curiously frustrated probe of Murder, Inc. He left office when the evidence of bribery, corruption and bookmaking in his administration had become overwhelming and the machine could do no more for him than to appoint him Ambassador to Mexico.

Sen. Charles Tobey (R-N.H.) asked O'Dwyer: "A funny thing what magnetism that man [Costello] had. How can you analyze it? You look him over, you wouldn't mark him except pretty near minus zero. But what is there? What is the attraction? What has he got? What kind of appeal does he have? What is it?"

O'Dwyer: "It doesn't matter whether it is a banker, a businessman or a gangster; his pocketbook is always attractive."

(Next week: The rest of the syndicate, how and for whom they work.)

JOHN ABT

Attorney John Abt's 50th birthday will be celebrated by the Progressive Party with a dinner April 28 at the Hotel Commodore in New York. Abt is general counsel of the PP. Presently co-counsel with Vito Marcantonio in the McCarran Act case, he was chief counsel for the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee in the New Deal years and later general counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO) and co-counsel for CIO-PAC.

Events for Children

Films

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. **Gift of Green & Fish Is Food,** 11 a.m. & 3 p.m., Sat., Apr. 10. Free.

N. Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Central Park W. at 77th St. Docum. Films: History & Govt. **18th Century Life in Williamsburg, Va.,** Sat., Apr 3; **Declaration of Independence; U. S. Navy in War of Independence; Bill of Rights,** Sat., Apr. 10. Films at 2 p.m. Free.

Dance & Music

FOLK SONGS & BALLAD characterizations by Bernice Kamsler, Marshall Butler, piano, Cooper Union, 4th Av. & Astor Pl. 8:30 p.m., Sun., Apr. 4. Free.

FREE CONCERT: Manhattan School of Music, Robert Guralnik, pianist, Museum of City of N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. 3 p.m., Sun., Apr. 4.

PAUL DRAPER in benefit recital for the Gramercy School of Dance & Music, Inc. (non-profit organization). John Colman, pianist. Program designed for children as well as adults. Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. 5:45 p.m., Sun., April 4. $2.50. Tickets obtained from the school: 853 B'way, N.Y.C., or 601 Eastern Parkway, B'klyn. SL 6-4594, am. only.

Plays

MAGIC: Roland Travers, an old favorite with many new tricks. McMillin Theater, Columbia University, B'way & 116th St. Tickets on sale day of performance at McMillin. Information call: MO 3-2709 or MO 3-521. 50c.

MATINEE FOR MOPPETS: Richard Himber with his special revue of "Himberama, Jr." and Peggy Bridge Marionettes performance of "The Emperor's Nightingale." Last of a series of six Matinees for Moppets. B'klyn Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette Av. 3 p.m., Apr. 3. 75c. ST 3-6700.

SHOEMAKER AND THE ELVES, plus a Mexican Fiesta (songs & dances). Favors for all children. Children's Own Theater, Metropolitan-Duane Church, 201 W. 13th St., at 7th Av. 3 p.m. Sats., Apr. 3 & 10. $1.80-76c. PL 7-6300 or CH 2-9693.

FREDDIE AND HIS FIDDLE, an original fairy tale with an adult cast. Presented by the "Y" Playhouse, Kaufman Auditorium, YM-YWHA, Lex. Av. & 92d St. Sun., Apr. 11, 1:30 & 3:30 p.m.; 11 a.m. & 2:40 p.m., Apr. 20-23. $1-$2. Reserv: Educational Dept., YM-YWHA. TR 6-2221. Half price for groups of 20 or more.

ROBIN HOOD, a full length play by Clare Tree Major Children's Theater. B'klyn Acad. of Music, 30 Lafayette Av. 3 p.m., Sat., Apr. 10. $1.50-60c. ST 3-6700.

Miscellaneous

N. Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Permanent Exhibitions. **Old Carriages, Coaches & Sleighs; Early New York; Early American Toys.** Open daily except Monday, 1-5 p.m.; Sats. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Free.

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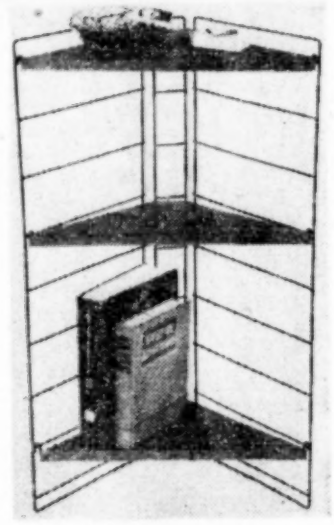

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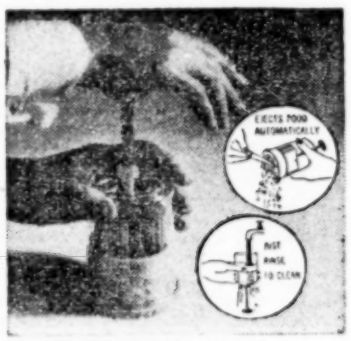

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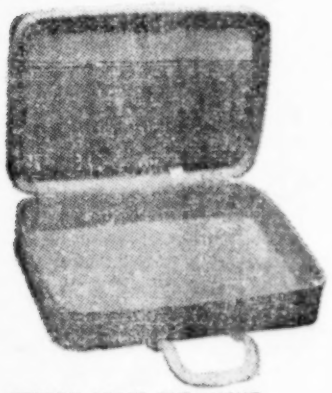

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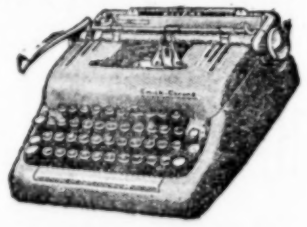

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the SPECTATOR

What's in a name like Oscar?

THE spring of 1954 comes up with smaller breads and larger circuses. The three-ring circus of McCarthy, Jenner and Velde still operates Under the Big Lie.

Holding its own in the world of ballyhoo, this year's Hollywood Academy Awards were staged simultaneously in two cities, 3,000 miles apart. Hong Kong, Sydney, Paris, London and all important points in the U. S. east of Los Angeles broadcast 90 minutes popping with many celebrities and few surprises. On television the show clicked with the efficiency of a busy lunch-counter, sandwiching movie personalities between thick slices of Oldsmobile commercials.

Every year Hollywood indulges in this rite of bowing down before the golden calf called Oscar. This faceless lump is worth several times its weight in gold. A name or a title after which can be printed "Academy Award Winner" is good for a substantial loan at the bank. Years ago one victor staggered from saloon to saloon, on credit, by waving what he called his "goddam passport to fame."

Drawing by Dyad, London

"Say, we're kinda gettin' short o' stars!"

SENSIBLE AMERICANS: This year the conniving and campaigning were toned down, probably because **From Here to Eternity** was expected to romp down the home stretch with most of the awards. Walt (call-me-Walt) Disney wound up with a goodly collection of the heavy little statuettes for his mantel. Maybe when he hears the word "union" he reaches for his Oscar.

Despite the spurious showmanship and the high-school diploma atmosphere, good sense was shown in the choice of the pictures for top honors. The American public should be given an Oscar for having singled them out at the box-office from a pretty shoddy field of runners. **From Here to Eternity** and **Stalag Seventeen**—and the nominees **Julius Caesar, Martin Luther** and **Little Fugitive**—gave little aid or comfort to the cold-war brass. These movies did not portray people as docile fools nor rulers as infallible heroes, in the past or the present. In the prison-camp picture **Stalag Seventeen** a Nazi was still a Nazi, not an EDC brother-in-arms. And **Eternity** did not glorify brutality in our own army, but so indicted it that at a recent showing of the film in Germany former members of the Wehrmacht got up and shouted: "That's us!"

PEANUTS OF 1951: No **Stalag** is the minus-quality **Prisoner of War** soon to be released by MGM. It was undertaken as a suposedly documented film about atrocities in N. Korean POW camps. Originally the Army co-operated, permitting the screen writer to interview former POW's during the five-day period after they returned to the U.S. He purported to gather authentic incidents and real conversations. But after one good look at the finished product, the Army withdrew its support, refusing even to send a military band to play at the gala opening.

Says the Army: "**[Prisoner of War]** . . . is not an accurate portrayal.... It's just contrary to the facts as we know them."

Says "Variety" in an advance review: "Many of the sequences would be laughable if the basis was not such a serious one."

Says the writer: "The picture tells an honest factual story."

THE MASTER MIND: It will surprise absolutely nobody that the above-mentioned writer, Allen Rivkin, is the acknowledged master-mind behind the campaign to drive progressives out of the Screen Writers Guild and out of the motion picture industry.

Suggestion to MGM: Prepare now for next year's Academy Awards by changing the title of **Prisoner of War** to an accurate description of the picture and what it would like to accomplish. Call it **From Here to Oblivion.**

'TIL THE WALLS COME TUMBLING DOWN

Jewish People's Chorus sings against jimcrow at Bronx County ALP rally against discrimination in Parkchester *(See page 2.)*